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International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
(ILGWU)

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Justice (Vol. 47, Iss. 6)

International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

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Comments

Justice was the official publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of *Justice* were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of *Justice* shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of *Justice*.

MAR 26 1965

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Too Little
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Senator Thomas J. Dodd



Senator Frank Church

JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Vol. XLVII, No. 6

Jersey City, March 15, 1965

Price 10 Cents

AFL-CIO Leaders

At White House Urge:

**HIKE MINIMUM, COVERAGE,
2X OVERTIME, CUT HOURS**

Left to right: AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Andrew J. Biemiller, President Johnson, "Him," Pres. David Dubinsky, Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz and Jacob S. Potofsky, president of Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Emerging from a visit with President Lyndon B. Johnson at the White House on March 10, AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany declared he was encouraged in his hope for revisions in the Fair Labor Standards Act, including a rise in the federal minimum wage above the present \$1.25 an hour.

I.LGWU Pres. David Dubinsky was one of the 4 AFL-CIO leaders named at the AFL-CIO council session earlier this month to meet with the President of the United States. He flew to New York to participate in the Dressmakers' Local 22 installation ceremonies the same evening.

Introduced by Vice Pres. Israel Breslow, Pres.

Dubinsky at the dress gathering gave details of the White House visit. He said that the stay, originally planned for half an hour, lasted 2 hours. During this time the labor group presented and discussed with President Johnson a 4-point program.

This included lifting the federal minimum wage above the present \$1.25 level, spreading coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to millions of additional workers, cutting the workweek back from 40 present length and paying for overtime at double pay rates.

Pres. Dubinsky told the dressmakers that the
(Continued on Page 3)

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Victory Is in Sight For Medicare Bill

The House Ways and Means Committee will approve a comprehensive health care for the aged bill within a matter of days, and it will pass the House before the end of March, Committee Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.) told a cheering gathering of senior citizens leaders in Washington last week.

Mills, accompanied by the senior citizens luncheon by 13 other members of his committee, confirmed reports that the health care package will include:

—A basic social insurance program of hospital care, based on the labor-supported King-Anderson bill.

—An increase in social security cash benefits.

—Improvements in the existing Kerr-Mills medical assistance for the aged program, including an administration-sought provision for medical care to needy children as well as the needy elderly.

—An optional supplementary program covering many health expenses not included in the basic hospital insurance, to be partially financed from federal funds.

Earlier, President Johnson sent a message to the luncheon sponsored by the Senior Citizens Golden Ring Council of New York, telling them that the crusade for health care is on the verge of victory.

"The long debate is drawing to a close," the President said. "There is going to be a program of health insurance for older people in this country. And the basis of that program is going to be our great social security system."

Johnson said that "for far too long" older Americans "have had to cope as best they could with the steeply rising costs of hospital care and other health services that they need."

"Patience Rewarded"

He told them: "You have been patient in your actions, progressive in your thinking. Now your patience is to be rewarded by action."

The several hundred delegates from Golden Ring clubs including numerous retired II Gers, lunched in the Ways and Means Committee hearing room where, for years, supporters and opponents of social security health care had debated the issues before the committee.

Cochairmen of the luncheon were Adolph Held, retired director.

tor of the II G.W.U. Welfare and Health Benefits Department and chairman of the Golden Ring Council, and David Sullivan, president of the Building Services Employees and vice chairman of the council. Working to set up the luncheon was Zalmen Lichtenstein, executive director of the Golden Ring Clubs. The congressional host was Rep. Eugene J. Keogh (D-N.Y.).

Rep. Cecil R. King (D-Calif.),

sponsor of the basic social security hospital care bill and leader in the year-long drive to win committee approval, said the "long road" had to be traveled because the legislation now moving so swiftly represented a basic change in attitude and policy on the part of the government.

"There is every indication," he said, that the bill to be sent to the floor will be "far better than we expect."



HISTORIC SIGNING: President Johnson hands one of the pens he used in signing Appalachia bill to Andrew J. Biemiller, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation. Labor gave strong support to the administration's "must" measure.

Begin 'Great Society' in Appalachia

The \$1.1 billion Appalachian redevelopment bill signed into law by President Johnson became the first major goal in the administration's program for a "Great Society" to clear the 87th Congress.

Beating back a series of crippling amendments, the House voted 275-165 to send

to the White House intact the Appalachia measure which is designed to bring new economic opportunities to some 16 million people living in an 11-state mountain region. Supporting the bill were 232 Democrats and 25 Republicans; opposed were 109 Republicans and 56 Democrats.

Administration leaders successfully resisted every attempt to change the Senate bill and the House crushed, 321-106, a Republican substitute bill which would have gutted the entire concept of regional assistance.

The margin of victory was a dramatic reflection of the changes last November's election made in the composition of the House. Last year the Appalachia bill passed the Senate but House Democratic leaders could not count the votes to pass it, and the legislation died with the adjournment of the 86th Congress.

Labor Supported Bill

The bill had a strong endorsement from the AFL-CIO. It will

provide, over a 5-year period, \$4.4 million in federal funds to build 2,350 miles of highways and 1,000 miles of access roads. Other major projects include establishment of health facilities in the region, reclamation of land made barren by strip mining, soil and timber redevelopment, water resources study and extra funds for vocational education.

Other federally-aided programs, the mountain ranges of Appalachia have provided the nation with more than half of its coal needs—but today towns built around coal mining lie desolate. On the surface of these mountains once stood one of the world's greatest hardwood forests. But the forests were stripped to provide housing, mine timbers and railroad ties. The mountains which have been harvested of their natural resources also formed barriers to commerce and the land was bypassed by business and industry.

Mapping the redevelopment of

the region will be a 12-member commission—one from each of the Appalachia states and a federal member. Projects utilizing federal redevelopment funds must be approved by a majority of the state representatives and the federal commissioner.

States presently in the program are Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. The bill also allows the inclusion of a group of counties in New York—subject to the approval of Republican Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller and the commission.

Republicans hammered hard at the argument that other parts of the nation were in as much need of help as sections of Appalachia. Their substitute bill would have made any economically depressed locality eligible for additional federal aid, scrapping the concept of regional planning and coordination.

AFL-CIO Assails Sema Brutality, Urges Vote Law

Voicing the labor movement's feeling of outrage, AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, in a telegram to President Johnson on March 9, declared that "We in the AFL-CIO are appalled by the police brutality in Selma, Alabama. The men

and women who were clubbed and beaten by the state police and other law enforcement officers are attempting only to exercise the most fundamental right of American citizens—the right to register and vote.

"The AFL-CIO will support every effort made by the federal government to secure this right for all our citizens and to halt the disgraceful abuse of police power ordered by the Governor of Alabama. We will do everything in our power to back speedy enactment of new voting legislation in this session of Congress."

Meany on March 12 sent the following telegram to Mrs. Marie Reeb, widow of the Reverend James J. Reeb:

"The men and women of the AFL-CIO express to you their deepest sorrow and sympathy on the tragic death of your husband. He died as he had lived, serving his fellow man and inspiring others to practice brotherhood and understanding. The progress of mankind has often resulted from the dramatic suffering of those who cared enough and the Reverend Reeb, throughout his lifetime lived fully on the streets of Selma, cared enough. The cause for which he died, human dignity, must and will triumph."

Also, as one of the most active members of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights which includes the nation's leading civil rights supporters, the AFL-CIO joined in a vigorous plea to President Johnson for federal in-

tervention against further brutality.

"We urge the maximum use of federal power to prevent further violence and to protect constitutional rights in Selma, Alabama," the Leadership Conference said. "We are confident you will utilize the full powers of your office to provide such additional federal presence as will prevent further bloodshed in Alabama and the continued violation of the constitutional rights of the citizens of that state."

"We further urge you to send immediately to the Congress, legislation which will guarantee full voting rights to the harassed citizens of Selma and of every county and state where American citizens are prevented from the free exercise of their right to register and vote."

Vote Bias Tactics

Several weeks ago a 15-member delegation of Congressmen, Republicans and Democrats, went to Selma to investigate the situation at first hand. One of the group, Representative Augustus F. Hawkins, Democrat from California, said he had a number of questions in his own mind. Among them were:

"How is it possible for a county in which the Negro population outnumbers the white to have neither a single Negro elected public official nor a single Negro public servant in a position of responsibility—such as a policeman?"

"How is it possible . . . for avowed and outspoken segregationists who are opposed to the best interests of the majority to get elected and reelected to public office without fail?"

"How can most states and counties survive and progress on simple registration qualifications when this jurisdiction finds it necessary to have registration standards much higher than those to be found almost anywhere else?"

The Congressional delegation took testimony from a number of persons who had the right to vote. What they discovered was a pattern which added up to a wholesale denial of the right to vote: only a limited number of people could be registered each day; the registration office was open only on certain days; no one could register unless a registered voter vouched for them and persons willing to vouch were maltreated to the point that they were unable to follow through; and those seeking to register were arrested on the slightest pretext.

Many applicants complained that when they stood in line they were given a number but before their number was called the registration office closed. The next day whites would be given priority in the line and the process would be repeated.

JUSTICE

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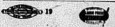
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URGE LBJ TO SUPPORT HIGHER MINIMUM WAGE

(Continued from Page 1)
committee headed by Pres. Meany maintained that the 4-point program would be an effective instrument in dealing with the problems of unemployment, automation and poverty. It was estimated that the double-time pay for overtime alone could create as much as 1 million additional jobs.

Employer opposition to a program creating more jobs through punitive overtime rates and shorter work week, they pointed out, would rest on employer reluctance to expand plants and buy new equipment. But the strongest

opposition would come because of a determination to avoid fringe benefits and taxes.

The program when adopted would serve to increase earnings, thereby providing more purchasing power which in turn keeps the number of jobs at a higher level. The labor leaders insisted that such a program was a necessary accompaniment to the anti-poverty program.

Also discussed with the President was repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits states to enact so-called "right-to-work" laws.

During his stay in Washington, Pres. Dubinsky also conferred on the 4-point program with Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Speaker of the House John W. McCormack.

At the dressmakers' installation, Pres. Dubinsky also talked about how the enactment of a higher federal minimum wage would provide a firm backdrop for industries like the garment industry which, with relatively light equipment, are highly mobile.

The ILGWU chief also surveyed recent trends in the garment industry, noting especially the impact of emerging big firms.



MONTREAL POLLING: Union member Yvette Roules of Harold Williams Ltd. shop casts her ballot in recent union election. Montreal election for union posts produced record turnout.

Blouse Independents Pen Eastern Region Gains Covering 575

Eastern Region negotiators have recently concluded agreements covering some 575 workers at 7 independent blouse shops in New York and New Jersey. The pact follows lines of the major market and out-of-town association compacts, according to Vice Pres.

Edward Kramer, department general manager.

Highlight of the contracts were general 6 percent wage increases for time and piece workers effective March 15. On February 15 cutters received \$6 weekly pay boosts.

With the effective date of the increases, minimums for operators went to \$16.65 an hour. One year later they will be raised to \$17.70.

Other Gains

Additional terms provide for 6 1/2 guaranteed paid holidays, expanded to 7 holidays with the inclusion of 1/2 day election day on even numbered years.

Also, effective January 1, 1968, the companies will pay added 2 percent to the health and welfare fund to cover a second week's vacation.

The bargaining sessions, guided by Assistant General Manager Sol Goldberg, were led by the managers of the locals holding agreements with the individual firms. They included:

Local 150-157 Manager Simon Baumrind for L. Brodsky & Son of South River, N.J.; Local 221 Manager Jack Schlesinger for Amson Manufacturing Co. of Linden; Local 149 Manager Leon Milman for Plainfield Blouse Co. of C. Bruno of Plainfield; Local 161 Manager Otto Hlavacek for Fashion Sportswear of Paterson.

In New York, the compact with Broome Manufacturing Co. of Kingston was negotiated by Local 259 Manager Mike Primack. And in Astoria on Long Island, Local 57-77 Manager Richard Cernone concluded the pact with Den-Rose Blouse Co.



N.Y. '27' EVENT: Pres. Dubinsky administers oath-of-office to newly-elected officers of dress-makers local at meeting at Statler-Hilton Hotel. Planting the ILGWU chief is Vice Pres. Israel Breslow, local manager, and Vice Pres. Charles S. Zimmerman, general manager of dress joint board. Also appearing on the platform, at far right, is Pearl Halpern, local chairlady.

'38' Votes March 24 For Executive Posts

Luigi Quintillano was re-elected by acclamation as manager of New York Theatrical Custom and Ladies Tailors Local 38 at nomination meeting held March 10 at the Hotel Diplomat, Manhattan.

At the same session, 24 candidates were nominated for 17 posts as executive board members. Election will be held on March 24 at the local's headquarters, 117 W. 46th St., Manhattan, from 8 A.M. to 7:30 P.M.

Contests for Delegates In San Francisco Voting

Incumbent Manager Cornelius Wall and business agents of Locals 8, 101 and 213 of the San Francisco Joint Board were re-elected by acclamation. At March 2 elections, there were contests for convention delegates in all the locals; in Dressmakers' Local 101 there was competition for the posts of executive board members.

UNITY HOUSE

Now is the time to make your reservations for the best accommodations at Unity House. Reservations can be made at 275 - 7th Ave., N.Y., 21st floor, Monday through Friday, from 9 AM to 6 PM.

STARTING APRIL 5

NLRB Grounds L.A. Dove, Orders \$15,000 Back Pay

The National Labor Relations Board has upheld the decision of its trial examiner and has found Mark J. Gerry Inc., doing business as Dove Manufacturing Co., of Los Angeles, California, guilty of committing unfair labor practices that favored a company union in attempts to thwart unionization by the ILGWU, reports Vice Pres. Samuel Oho, Pacific Coast director.

The board ordered the firm to pay some 100 workers who were in its employ on or after June 27, 1963, for vacations, holidays and bonuses to which they were entitled under employment conditions existing continuously since February 1960, together with 6 percent interest. The back pay provision, Oho estimates, will total over \$15,000.

In addition, the board directed Dove to cease and desist from discouraging membership in the Los Angeles Dress and Sportswear Joint Board and encouraging workers to join the company union by promising payments for vacations, holidays and bonuses only if they voted for a contract with the company union.

The joint board, in its original charges, had pinpointed the illegal actions used by the firm against the ILGWU which were aimed at coercing the workers to

vote for the company union in the previous representation election.

These included allowing the company union to solicit members and hold meetings in the shop; displaying signs all over the plant boasting the company union and charging the ILGWU was interested only in collecting dues; and denying the request of the ILGWU to address the workers. Also, the employer and his representatives had "advised" 15 Chinese workers that it was to their interest to join and vote for the company outfit in order to maintain their jobs.

In a separate decision last year, according to Organization Director Sam Schwartz, the NLRB had ordered the firm to reimburse workers with back pay from October 1962 — worker Ozzie Perkins who had been unlawfully discharged for acting as the ILGWU's observer

during the first representation election at the plant.

The company has refused to comply with this order. The board has instituted suit for compliance in the 9th Circuit Court and the case is scheduled to be heard next month.

Basil Feinberg has been attorney for the union in the case.

Urge Unions Participate In Nat'l Library Week

Union members have been urged by AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany to help improve the quality of the libraries in their communities and to join in establishing libraries where they do not now exist. Meany's appeal was made in a letter to more than 700 AFL-CIO central labor bodies throughout the U.S. urging their participation in National Library Week, April 25-May 1.



LOCAL 89 BALLOTING: Left: ILGWU First Vice Pres. Luigi Antonini; head of administration slate—89 Welfare League—casts ballot at Manhattan Center, one of 6 designated polling places in New York City. Election took place March 10.



Center: Tabulating votes cast by members for candidates running for local posts. Right: Final tally of ballots, being supervised by Vice Pres. Edward Kramer, election committee chairman, seated right. Watching count are observers from both slates.



Administration Majority 6 to 1 '155' Leaders Win 8,000-Vote Okay

The administration slate of Italian Dressmakers' Local 89, led by First Vice Pres. Luigi Antonini, won a resounding vote of confidence by a landslide of ballots at the election on March 10. By a decisive victory of almost 6 to 1, the entire slate headed by Antonini—the "89 Welfare League"—was elected.

Antonini led the "ticket" with 12,658 votes among the 15,432 ballots cast in the election. The membership of Local 89 is about 21,000. In the contest for assistant general secretary, incumbent Salvatore Noto defeated his opponent, Alfred Rupo, by 12,584 to 2,295.

Members cast their ballots from 8 A.M. to 7 P.M. on the election date at 6 designated polling places in New York City. The counting of the votes began immediately after the polls closed under the watchful eyes of observers from both slates.

Vice Pres. Edward Kramer, general manager of the Eastern Region, chairman of the election committee of Local 89, gave a first summary report of election results about 11:30 P.M. In congratulating Antonini and his running mates, Kramer noted that there had been a minimum of friction in the election, that all concerned behaved correctly, and said that "even a sense of humor" prevailed at times during the polling.

Vote of Confidence

After expressing his thanks to Kramer and the entire election committee for their efforts, Antonini said: "It seems the Italian Dressmakers decided that they want me again as their general secretary. I want to thank the opposition, for it contributed to make these elections really 'spiced,' as had been noted in Justice. I want, however, to make very clear that I will be the general secretary of all Italian dressmakers, those who voted for me and those who thought otherwise. I consider this a vote of confidence for my administration, which, except for very few changes, is the same as the outgoing. More than an election, for us this was a re-election."

Antonini announced that the Local 89 administration elected for the next 3-year term will be installed by ILGWU Pres. David Dubinsky, at ceremonies to be held on Saturday, March 27, starting 9:45 A.M. at the Rivoli Theatre in Manhattan.

The induction ceremonies will be broadcast from the Rivoli

Theatre stage by the "Voice of Local 89" program over the Eastern Network. Following the installation events, the gathering will see the motion picture, "The Sound of Music."

The election committee, whose chairman was Vice Pres. Kramer, included Assistant Pres. Gus Tyler, who was assigned by Pres. Dubinsky; Vice Pres. Charles S.

Zimmerman, general manager of the Dress Joint Council; Vice Pres. E. Howard Molisani, manager of Italian Cloakmakers' Local 48; Vice Pres. Louis Nelson, Local 155 manager; and Vice Pres. Shelley Appleton, Local 23-25 manager. The 21 other members were elected at their respective district membership meetings.

Though there was no opposition slate, 8,464 knitgoods workers turned out for the elections of Local 155 held March 10, at polling places in Brooklyn and Manhattan, and gave a resounding vote of confidence to the administration headed by Vice Pres.

Louis Nelson, local manager. Voting was conducted under supervision of a 7-member election committee chosen by the members.

In the absence of an opposition slate, there was provision for "yes" or "no" votes. Nelson led the balloting with 8,090 votes, with other administration candidates for local officers and 12

convention delegates polling in the same range.

Highest number of "no" votes for any office was 68. There also were 170 blank ballots cast, mainly by the former Communist opposition group and its followers not wishing to expose their weakness, refused to participate.

The entire administration was re-elected to a new 3-year term, excepting Sam Sinensky, who is retiring as president. In his place, Sol Gross was elected new president. Sinensky, like Gross, is one of the pioneers of the local, and has served it in various capacities since the day it was founded.

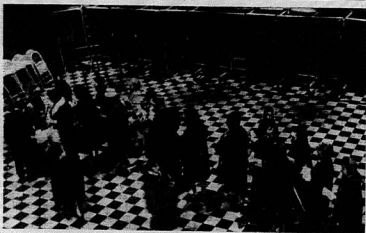
Installation of the newly elected administration of Local 155 will take place on Tuesday, March 23, at 5:30 P.M. in Roosevelt Auditorium, 100 East 17th St., Manhattan. Vice Pres. Charles S. Zimmerman will administer the oath of office.

Apr. 5 Register Start For Dress Vacation

The New York Dress Joint Board will begin on Monday, April 5, to register members for the June 1965 vacation benefit.

A letter sent out last week to all shop chairmen and chair-ladies provided a complete explanation of the registration procedure. The registration beginning on April 5 is only for those "regularly employed" at the present time.

Registration for those who are not now attached to shops will begin Tuesday, June 15.



N.Y. LOCAL 155 BALLOTING: Members of knitgoods workers unit line up to cast ballots for officers and convention delegates at 1 of 2 designated polling places—Machinist's Hall.

Sizable Pay Hike for 600 Thru Flagg Renewal in Ala.

A new 3-year agreement has brought significant pay boosts to some 600 workers at the Sweetwater and Knit Kote plants of Flagg-Union Co., a division of Genesco Inc. in Florence, Alabama, reports Martin Morand, director of the Southeast Region.

Despite the fact that Alabama has a so-called "right-to-work" law, all eligible workers at the plants are members of the union.

The contract renewal with the knit underwear manufacturer provides for a wage hike of 12 cents an hour for time workers and an 18-cent increase for piece workers.

It also calls for an additional

3½ paid holiday, bringing the total to 6½; a 1 percent increase in vacation pay, raising the total to 5 percent of annual earnings for workers with 10 years of service; a 1 percent hike in employer contributions to the union's

health and welfare fund, bringing the total to 2½ percent of payroll; and contributions to the ILGWU national retirement fund in the amount of 2 percent of payroll.

Chief negotiator for the union

was Morand, who was assisted by D.O. Warren, business agent; Charles Hodges, Florence Local 378 president; and a committee of shop workers consisting of Wydoen Davis, Goldie Spiegel, John Burgess, Udel H. Martin, Cora Sweeney, Nadine Long, Marcia Robinson, Clair Hannah, George Fuiks and Jesse Phillips.

By 1969, according to a Labor Department projection, the U.S. labor force will total 101 millions.

"Beas Ball"



AN INTENSIVE, NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN launched by the AFL-CIO to achieve its No. 1 legislative goal for 1965—repeal of Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which permits the states to outlaw the union shop and other forms of union security. The objective is a vote this year to do away with the unfair and oppressive provision of Taft-Hartley that invites so-called "right-to-work" laws.

This is the first time since the enactment of Taft-Hartley in 1947 that an all-out assault has been made on Section 14 (b). For this is also the first time since then that there has been a clear-cut liberal majority in both houses of Congress, generally well-informed about the issue. Prospects for success are bright, but the outcome is far from certain.

There may be some people who wonder what all the fuss is about, who ask why repeal of 14 (b) is important enough to be the AFL-CIO's No. 1 goal, who feel that this much emphasis detracts from the role of the labor movement as spokesmen for all the people.

LABOR'S POSITION, AS SET FORTH IN AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE Council statements, is as follows:

1. What all the fuss is about is the issue of free collective bargaining. A state "right-to-work" law forbids an employer and a union from agreeing on a union security clause in a contract between them. This means that a varying proportion of the workers covered by the contract don't join the union. Some are simply saving dues money; others are trying to curry favor with the boss; still others may have other motives, including a handful with honest though misguided convictions.

It is unreasonable, then, for a union to ask that all those who benefit from the union contract, all those who are under the protection of the union, assume their fair share of the costs and the burdens? Many of us have backed a loser for mayor, or voted against a municipal assessment which passed. We have to go along with the winners or move away. That's all that's involved in a union shop.

2. The AFL-CIO never said nor intended that repeal of 14 (b) ought to be the first measure enacted by the 89th Congress. It never said nor intended that repeal of 14 (b) was more important than full employment, medicare, or a better wage-hour law.

But the real battle for unemployment, for a 35-hour work-week and many other basic issues is just beginning; while, on the other hand, the long struggle for medicare, for example, is all but won. In listing repeal of 14 (b) as its No. 1 goal, the AFL-CIO had in mind what could be achieved this year with a hard enough fight.

3. There is nothing in the drive against 14 (b) that is inconsistent with the AFL-CIO's role as the "people's lobby," the spokesman for Americans as a whole. It is a profound though little-recognized truth that the existence of a "right-to-work" law perpetuates substandard conditions in most other aspects of life within a state—in educational expenditures, in unemployment and workmen's compensation, and all down the line, including family income, housing and health.

THEREFORE THE ELIMINATION OF 14 (b) IS AN INHERENT part of the war on poverty and the struggle to create the Great Society.

Aside from all this, 14 (b) is bad law by any purely objective measure. It outrages constitutional laws by having nothing to do with labor relations, one way or another. For it is the only instance, in the whole history of the U.S., in which Congress, having taken jurisdiction for the federal government over a field of activity, has turned around and ceded a part of that jurisdiction back to the states.

Congress decided in 1935 that labor-management relations in interstate commerce was properly a federal concern. The Supreme Court agreed. Yet in 1947 Congress said that on the matter of union security—and that alone—the states could apply greater restrictions. There is no precedent for this, and no merit in it either.

Tide Running Against 'Right-to-Work' Laws

What They Say About R-T-W Law

As pledged in our 1960 and 1964 Democratic platforms, I will propose to Congress changes in the Taft-Hartley Act including section 14(b). I will do so hoping to reduce conflicts that for several years have divided Americans in various states.

—LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The intent of the Democratic Party regarding the federal authorization in the Taft-Hartley Labor Movement Act of 1947 that has made possible state enactment of the unpopular so-called "right-to-work" laws is unequivocal. We intend to repeal this anti-collective bargaining provision.

—HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Let me make it clear once again, as I have in the past that—whatever office I shall hold—I shall always be unalterably opposed to so-called "right-to-work" laws at any level, federal or state.

—JOHN F. KENNEDY

Any logic of the situation and any practical considerations require, suggest, demand and warrant the immediate repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

—W. WILLARD WIRTZ
Secretary of Labor

Back in 1948 when I first ran for the U.S. Senate, I publicly stated my opposition to the so-called "right-to-work" proposal. It was known then as the Barlow bill. I have not changed my mind since and I am still opposed to the "right-to-work" proposal.

—SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH

As an employer, and from the point of view of what is good for an employer, I am firmly opposed to any so-called "right-to-work" law... Once a majority of the employees in any plant have voted for a union, that union then has the right and equally important—the duty to represent every one of the employees in the plant in collective bargaining. We are not so naive, of course, as to believe that these "right-to-work" advocates are really interested in correcting abuses within the labor movement. Their plan is simply to weaken and ultimately destroy labor unions by cutting their source of support.

—JOHN I. SNYDER, JR.
Chairman of the Board and President of U.S. Industries, Inc.

"RIGHT-TO-WORK" PROMOTERS, NOW FIGHTING A bitter-end resistance to Congressional repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, haven't had much to cheer about in 7 lean years since 1958. They've been turned back in virtually every state they entered, scorned by legislatures, rejected by voters in elections and held at a long arm's length by politicians they sought to embrace as allies.

Before they finished applauding the addition of sparsely-settled Wyoming to the list of states which prohibit the union shop, populous Indiana—the only industrial state on the "right-to-work" list—repealed its union shop ban.

THE ANTI-UNION MOMENTUM OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY Act proved short lived. Rural-dominated southern legislatures, in the 1947-48 period, had been quick to pass "right-to-work" laws as presumed inducements to low-wage, anti-union employers. A few farm states in other areas followed suit. But then the tide began to turn.

It was in November 1958, however, that the pool really fell in on the "right-to-work" promoters.

Proposals to outlaw the union shop had been petitioned to referendum in 6 states: California, Ohio, Colorado, Washington, Kansas and Ohio. It was the boldest frontal attack made on unions, and the results were devastating. Six "right-to-work" sponsors and Republican office-holders who embraced their cause, California and Ohio voters rejected "right-to-work" by massive million-vote pluralities. Washington and Colorado voters also turned down "right-to-work" by big margins that year, and even agricultural Idaho. Only Kansas joined the list of "work" states, by a narrow margin.

THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE was not downcast. In an appeal for additional money from anti-union businessmen to carry the fight to other states, a spokesman said the committee, like John Paul Jones, "has just begun to fight."

And fight it did, but to no avail. "Right-to-work" legislation was defeated in state legislatures, whether offered as a separate bill or, in a growing number of cases, as a "work" amendment to civil rights bills and other unrelated legislation. In most states, "work" bills were buried in committees.

THE BIGGEST, HARDEST-FOUGHT CAMPAIGN SINCE 1958 took place in Oklahoma, a state almost surrounded by "right-to-work" neighbors, where local leaders of the radical right had powerful support from both the National Right to Work Committee and a newly-formed Committee for Voluntary Unionism of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

After the legislature twice rejected bills to ban the union shop, paid collectors collected petitions to force the issue to referendum. The court battle over allegations of fraud in the petitions raged for several years, but finally the referendum was scheduled for a vote in last May's primary election. Preliminary polls had made the "work" forces optimistic. Big publishers and Farm Bureau leaders were lined up behind the move to outlaw the union shop.

But labor worked as never before and formed a strong alliance with Negro groups, the Farmers Union and committees of educators, churches, civic, professional and fair-minded business leaders. When the votes were tallied, "right-to-work" was again defeated.

"Monkey Wrench"



By SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD

I AM PLEASED AND HONORED TO GIVE THE readers of Justice my position on the situation in Vietnam.

It has always been my belief—and I have said so publicly on a number of occasions—that one can find far more understanding of world affairs and of the nature of Communism in the labor movement than one can in the ranks of big business. Indeed, I think big business could learn much from the resolutions on East-West trade and Vietnam and other aspects of foreign policy adopted at the AFL-CIO Executive Council in Miami several weeks ago.

It has been my experience that the discussion of vital foreign policy issues sometimes becomes exceedingly difficult if there is an excessive liberal concentration on one side, and an excessive conservative concentration on the other side. When such polarization exists, there is a tendency for liberals and conservatives to line up with each other on emotional grounds without examining the issues on their merits.

I consider it fortunate in the case of Vietnam that the current debate is not afflicted by such a polarization of opinion. While it is true there are many liberals who have urged withdrawal from Vietnam, there are also many liberals—Congressmen, editors, and union leaders—who have spoken up strongly against surrendering Vietnam to Communism. It has made me proud, for example, to be associated in the position I took with Senators like Paul Douglas and William Proxmire and Gale McKee.

I have found it most encouraging to note, too, that liberal papers of national reputation like the Washington Post and the Atlanta Constitution have come out strongly in favor of holding the line in Vietnam. Finally, and perhaps most important, the recent resolution on Vietnam adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council encourages me to believe that the American people—American liberals among them—in their overwhelming majority understand the issues at stake in Vietnam and understand that we cannot purchase either peace or safety by territorial concessions to the Red aggressors.

THERE HAS BEEN DEVELOPING IN THIS COUNTRY in recent years a brand of thinking about foreign affairs which can aptly be described as "the new isolationism."

Its background is a growing national weariness with cold war burdens we have been so long carrying, a rising frustration with situations that are going against us in many places, a long-simmering indignation over the fact that our generosity and sacrifice have too often been met abroad, not just with indifference and ingratitude, but even with hostility and contempt.

Its scrawled-on "escalation," its cure-all is "neutralization."

The basic premise of the new isolationism is that the U.S. is overextended in its attempt to resist Communist aggression around the world, overcommitted to the defense of distant outposts, and overinvolved in the murky and unprofitable affairs of remote areas.

I reject the assumption that the U.S. is overextended, or overcommitted, or overinvolved.

WE ARE IN VIETNAM BECAUSE OUR SECURITY and the security of the entire free world demands that a firm line be drawn against the further advance of Communist imperialism—in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, and in Europe. We are in Vietnam because it is our national interest to assist every nation, large and small, which is seeking to defend itself against Communist subversion, infiltration and aggression.

There is nothing new about this policy; it is a policy, in fact, to which every administration has adhered since the proclamation of the Truman doctrine. We are in Vietnam because our assistance was invited by the legitimate government of that country. We are in Vietnam not merely to help the 14 million South Vietnamese defend themselves against Communism, but because what is at stake is the independence and freedom of 240 million people in southeast Asia and the future of freedom throughout the western Pacific.

OUR WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM would immediately confront us with an agonizing choice. If we decide to try to defend what is left of southeast Asia against the advance of Communism, it will require far more money, far more men, and far more American blood than we are today investing in the defense of Vietnam. What is more, it would involve a far greater risk of the major escalation which we seek to avoid.

If, on the other hand, we decide to abandon the whole of southeast Asia to Communism, as some of the proponents of withdrawal have frankly proposed, it would result in the

early disintegration of all our alliances, and in the total eclipse of America as a great nation. Because no nation can remain great when its assurances are considered worthless even by its friends.

Whether we decide to abandon southeast Asia or to try to draw another line outside Vietnam, the loss of Vietnam will result in a dozen more Vietnams in different parts of the world. If we cannot cope with this type of warfare in Vietnam, the Chinese Communists will be encouraged in the belief that we cannot cope with it anywhere else.

The situation in Vietnam today bears many resemblances to the situation just before Munich. In Vietnam today, we are again confronted by an incorrigible aggressor, fanatically committed to the destruction of the free world, whose agreements are as worthless as Hitler's.

I take it for granted that every intelligent person realizes that America could not long survive as a free nation in a world that was completely Communist. I take it for granted that everyone agrees that somewhere, somehow, we must draw the line against further Communist expansion. The question that separates us, therefore, is not whether such a line should be drawn, but where such a line should be drawn.

I believe that we have been right in drawing the line in Vietnam and that President Johnson is right in trying to hold the line in Vietnam, despite the setbacks we have suffered over the past year. Because if this line fails, let us have no illusions about the difficulty of drawing a realistic line of defense anywhere in the western Pacific.

THERE HAS BEEN A GREAT DEAL OF TALK about the U.S. escalating the war in South Vietnam. Several Senators who spoke last week warned that if we escalate the war by means of air strikes against North Vietnam, the escalation may get out of hand and wind up a war with Red China or perhaps a world war.

But it is not we who have escalated the war; it is the Communists. Peiping and Hanoi have been busy escalating the war in South Vietnam for several years now. They have sent in tens of thousands of soldiers of the North Vietnamese Army; they have trained additional tens of thousands of dissident South Vietnamese; they have supplied them with massive quantities of equipment; and they have stepped up the tempo of their attacks against the Vietnamese people.

If the Communists are always to be permitted the privilege of escalating their attempts to take over new countries, while we shrink from retaliation for fear of further escalation, we might as well throw in the sponge now and tell the Communists the world is theirs for the taking.

It is difficult to conceive of Red China sending in her armies in response to air strikes against carefully selected military targets. After all, if they did so, they would be risking retaliation against their highly vulnerable coastal cities, where most of Red China's industry is concentrated. They would be risking setting back their economy 10 or 20 years.

That there will be no invasion of the North by Vietnamese American forces can, I believe, be taken as axiomatic. Nor do I believe there will be any large-scale involvement of American troops on the Korean model. We will have to continue to provide the Vietnamese with logistical support, as we are doing now. But on the ground, the fighting can and should be done by the Vietnamese armed forces, supported, I believe, by military contingents from the other free Asian countries.

I BELIEVE THE WAR IN VIETNAM CAN BE WON without a significant increase in our military effort. There are many things that can be done to improve the performance of our side, and most of them lie essentially in the nonmilitary field.

All Vietnamese, whether they live in the north or south, would like to see a unified and peaceful Vietnam. But as matters now stand, only the Communists are able to hold forth the prospect of the reunification of Vietnam. To date we have not given the South Vietnamese government the green light to set up a "Committee for the Liberation of North Vietnam," as counterpart to the "Liberation Force" which the Communists have set up in the south. This places the South Vietnamese side at a grave disadvantage. There are many patriotic North Vietnamese refugees who have been itching for the opportunity to set up a Liberation Committee for the North. The establishment of such a committee could have an immediate and profound impact on the conduct of the war.

The American Friends of Vietnam have suggested another dramatic measure: a commitment to a massive southeast Asian development program based on the harnessing of the Mekong River—a kind of Tennessee Valley Authority for southeast Asia. Such a plan, they point out, would offer

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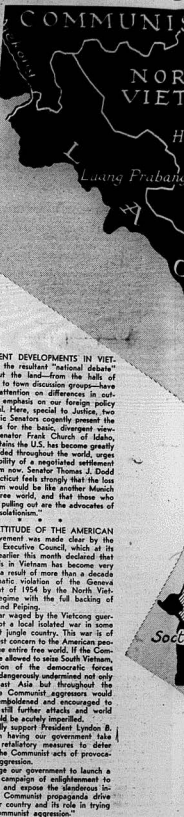
CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM and the resultant "national debate" throughout the land—from the halls of Congress to town discussion groups—have focused attention on differences in outlook and emphasis on our foreign policy in general. Here, special to Justice, two Democratic Senators cogently present the arguments for the basic, divergent viewpoints. Senator Frank Church of Idaho, who maintains the U.S. has become greatly overextended throughout the world, urges the possibility of a negotiated settlement in Vietnam now. Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut feels strongly that the loss of Vietnam would be like another Munich for the free world, and that those who advocate pulling out are the advocates of a "new isolationism."

THE ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN labor movement was made clear by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, which at its meeting earlier this month declared that "The crisis in Vietnam has become very grave as a result of more than a decade of systematic violation of the Geneva Agreement of 1954 by the North Vietnamese regime with the full backing of Moscow and Peiping."

"The war waged by the Vietcong guerrillas is not a local isolated war in some far distant jungle country. This war is of the greatest concern to the American people and the entire free world. If the Communists are allowed to seize South Vietnam, the position of the democratic forces would be dangerously undermined not only in Southeast Asia but throughout the world. The Communist aggressors would then be emboldened and encouraged to resort to still further attacks and world peace would be acutely imperiled."

"We fully support President Lyndon B. Johnson in having our government take energetic retaliatory measures to deter and halt the Communist acts of provocation and aggression."

"We urge our government to launch a worldwide campaign of enlightenment to counteract and expose the slanderous international Communist propaganda drive against our country and its role in trying to halt Communist aggression."



Too Little or Too Much?

COMMUNIST CHINA

NORTH
VIETNAM



By SENATOR FRANK CHURCH

I AM HONORED TO BE ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE my foreign policy views to Justice, the official publication of that truly great labor organization—the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

In a time of rapid international change and revolutionary ferment, it is important for the members of the ILGWU and all other Americans who take the responsibilities of citizenship seriously to begin to re-examine the premises on which American foreign policy has been based for almost two decades.

Domestically, we are well aware that America must change to meet and solve the problems of racial discrimination, of unemployment, of poverty, of education, and of making our urban and rural areas cope with the changing demands placed upon them. To make these domestic changes, Americans must be willing to change attitudes to meet new situations.

Likewise, we must be willing to adapt new attitudes if we are to be able to conduct our international relations with the necessary success. The attitudes and policies which were relevant immediately after the Second World War must now meet the rugged tests of a new age. In our new age, it is possible that the pendulum of our foreign policy involvement has swung too far.

ONCE WE THOUGHT THAT ANYTHING WHICH happened abroad was none of our business; now we evidently think that everything which happens abroad has become our business. In the span of 30 years, an excess of isolationism has been transformed into an excess of interventionism.

Since the days of the Marshall plan, the U.S. has constantly expanded the scope of its commitment to foreign governments. From Western Europe, we have moved into Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East, until the dimension of our involvement has become global. Our troops are now stationed in no less than 30 countries; we are pledged to defend 42, and we are extending aid, in one form or another, to nearly 100 nations.

Why have we spread ourselves so thin? What compulsion draws us, ever deeper, into the internal affairs of so many countries in Africa and Asia, having so remote a connection with the vital interests of the U.S.?

THE ANSWER, I THINK, STEMS FROM OUR intensely ideological view of the cold war. We have come to treat "Communism," regardless of what form it may take in any given country, as the enemy. We fancy ourselves as guardians of the "free" world, though most of it is not free, and never has been. We seek to immunize this world against further Communist infection through massive injections of American aid, and, wherever necessary, through direct American intervention.

Such a vast undertaking has at least 2 defects: First, it exceeds our national capability; second, among the newly emerging nations, where the specter of Western imperialism is dreaded more than Communism, such a policy can be self-defeating. As a seasoned, friendly foreign diplomat recently put it: "The U.S. is getting involved in situations where no one—not even a nation of saints—would be welcome."

This is not to say that we should write off Africa or Asia. It is to say that a foreign policy of intervention, which was right for Western Europe, is apt to be wrong for those continents which have just thrown off European rule.

Our reason for being in the Orient is not that of fashioning Asian governments. It is not Communism, as such, which accounts for our presence in the Far East, but rather, the containment of Peking. This can be best accomplished if China is ringed with stable, independent governments, which refuse to be the pawns of Chinese ambition. As Yugoslavia has proved in Europe vis-a-vis Russia, even a Communist government can play such a role.

IT WOULD BE TO OUR NATIONAL ADVANTAGE, then, to seek an international agreement for the neutralization of the whole great region that used to be French Indochina. The transitional phase of such a settlement might be policed by the United Nations, or by a special commission set up to preside over a cease-fire in South Vietnam, to supervise the withdrawal of all foreign troops from both sides, and to maintain order, while an independent and unaligned new government is formed by Vietnamese themselves.

The neutrality of the whole region could be guaranteed by the signatories to the international agreement. Thus, the military might of the U.S. would remain available as a deterrent against Chinese aggression from the north, which

is—or ought to be—our governing national objective in southeast Asia anyway.

In like manner, we may find it in our national interest to pledge our armed might behind the defense of India, Thailand, or some other Asian government, against any further Chinese attack, that these governments might have the need for developing nuclear shields of their own, while we avoid the dangers of further proliferation of nuclear armaments.

This kind of guarantee, which would be a real deterrent to Chinese military aggression, lies within our capability, and would preclude a power vacuum in Asia, so feared by the architects of our present policy. If this kind of defense commitment is sufficient to prevent an overt Chinese attack upon say, India or Thailand, it ought to suffice for the rest of southeast Asia as well.

TO THOSE WHO PROTEST THAT SUCH A POLICY will fail to protect against growing Chinese influence over such countries as Laos, Cambodia, Burma, or Vietnam, brought on through intended Communist subversion from within these countries, I submit that the scorecard on our present policy of direct intervention in southeast Asia shows that we are now losing this contest.

The somber truth is underlined in the events of the past fortnight—the stepped-up Vietcong attacks upon American bases in South Vietnam, and the consequent loss of more American lives. We must hope that our retaliatory bombings of military installations in North Vietnam, intended to demonstrate the strength of our will and purpose, may persuade Hanoi and Peking that the U.S. is not, and never has been, a paper tiger. Having made a solemn commitment to Saigon, we intend to keep it. The military might we can bring to bear upon North Vietnam is formidable indeed, and so it would behoove the Communists to explore with us the way to a peaceful solution in southeast Asia.

As the beat of the war drums intensifies, and passions rise on both sides, I recognize that negotiation becomes difficult. Already cries of "appeasement" are being directed at anyone who speaks up for a negotiated settlement of this escalating war. So soon the country seems to have forgotten the wises words of John F. Kennedy, that we should never negotiate out of fear, but never fear to negotiate.

All of us recognize the heavy burden of decision which our President bears. And we would do well to remember that the seal of his office is an American eagle, clutching a bundle of arrows in one claw and an olive branch in the other. The judicious use of both the arrows and the olive branch represents our best hope for avoiding a widening war in Asia.

Those who would use the arrows alone are actually calling for war. The systematic and sustained bombing of North Vietnam, unattended by any proffered recourse in the bargaining table, can only lead us into war. North Vietnam, lacking air and sea power, must answer on the ground. Her response, in the form of added military pressures against the south, Saigon can hardly be expected to withstand. As a consequence, the next step will be to send American land forces into battle, thus converting the struggle into an American war on the Asian mainland. That China, will, sooner or later, enter such a war, I have no doubt.

LET THOSE WHO URGE THIS COURSE UPON US answer for its consequences. A spreading war on the Asian mainland, pitting American troops against Asian troops, is a war we cannot finish. In the end, after a tragic trail of casualties out of all proportion to our real national interest, we will have to negotiate a settlement with the Communists, even as such a truce was finally negotiated in Korea. The question really is not whether we should negotiate, but when.

To those who say that we must not parley now, because we would bargain from a position of weakness, I reply that they take too restricted a view of our strategic position in southeast Asia. They look only to the plight of the war in South Vietnam, forgetting that American power in southeast Asia rests not upon the weakness of Saigon, but upon the strength of our own possession of the sea and air.

Our recent retaliatory blows should make it clear to Hanoi and Peking that we will not quit under fire, nor withdraw, nor submit to Communist coercion. We can strike back with relative impunity, from floating bases which are beyond Communist reach, and inflict heavy punishment upon them. Ours is not a position of weakness from which to deal.

So I would hope that the President of the United States will undertake to use, not only his arrows, but his olive branch as well. Willingness to parley is not a sign of weakness.

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ILGers in Ga. Ask Injunction To Bar Palmetto Coercions

Workers at Palmetto Manufacturing Co. in Georgia entered the 6th week of their strike against the firm's unfair labor practices. The union has now filed suit for a counter-injunction against the employer, seeking to enjoin him and others from "driving motor vehicles past the picket... in a dangerous or reckless manner," and from "unnecessarily removing firearms from holsters in the presence of pickets."

The strike at this bathrobe manufacturing firm, a reorganized plant of Campen Gift in Palmetto, was called on February 2 after the employer committed a series of blatant unfair labor practices, including a refusal to bargain. The next day, the employer obtained an injunction restraining mass picketing.

Union Standfast

According to Martin Morand, Southeast Region director, the company also has filed a suit

against the ILGWU, Local 122, and Business Agent Harry Berger charging that the employer (Donny Brandt) had been "ridiculed" and "libeled" by statements that he had offered the workers vitamin pills and orange juice instead of a wage increase or reduction in hours.

The union has declared it is not only standing by its position that this statement had been made by Brandt, but has distributed vitamin pills to the workers to demonstrate that while the company may make promises, it's the union that delivers.

Meantime, the strikers' ranks have grown, despite the various pressures brought to bear against the workers and the union in the area. For instance, the injunction limits pickets to 3 at each entrance; also, the union was evicted from its quarters in the community building, disregarding the fact that rent had been paid in advance and that many of the workers are themselves citizens of the community.

As a result, another strike headquarters had to be established 5 miles from town.

On Sunday, March 7, approximately 125 persons attended a social for the families of the strikers, held at the headquarters.

From the beginning of the strike, several organizers were assigned to the campaign, including Anna Rousey, Robert Dehl, Burl Robinson, E. W. Houtzler and Jerry Tucker. When 2 of them went to attend the union's Training Institute in New York, their places were taken by James Flaherty and Hutton Parker.

On several occasions, strikers were addressed by Nick Bonanno, assistant regional director. Local attorneys Tom Carter and Joan Patton have been handling the union's case charging unfair labor practices against the company, in consultation with ILGWU Assistant General Counsel Julius Topol and Jerome B. Kauff of the Legal Department.



WINNING TEAM: Newly-elected officers of Bardforn, Kentucky Local 460. Seated, from left: Mary A. O'Daniel, financial secretary; Alta Young, president; Louis Hall, vice president; and Gladys Goates, recording secretary. Standing, from left: Executive Board Members Gladys Hahn, Gladys Waller, Jamie Gordon, Barbara Grifton, and Woodie Kimberland.

HOW TO BUY

by SIDNEY MARGOLIS

Get Consumer Info Guides While U.S. Booklets Last

The public may not realize it yet, but the recently announced cuts in the U.S. Agriculture Department budget will eliminate one of the few remaining government sources of consumer research and information.

Among other reductions totaling \$5 million dollars, the department plans to eliminate its research and information on clothing, housing and household equipment. These particular savings amount to \$550,000.

The relatively small saving will end a number of projects and pamphlets that have benefited many city and suburban as well as farm families. Among the projects that will be eliminated by the budget cut are the Beltville energy-saving kitchen; designs for low-cost homes; research and pamphlets on selection and use of washing machines, refrigerators, sewing machines and freezers, and all the clothing research aimed at helping consumers.

The clothing research had produced such useful pamphlets as those on self-help clothing for children, buying men's suits, fitting women's coats and dresses, clothing for the physically handicapped, making household fabrics flame resistant, carpet and rug repair, and others.

The energy-saving kitchen project is (or was) one of the most famous of the Government's consumer services. It developed the U-shaped design which has influenced house builders and guided kitchen remodeling by both urban and farm families.

Another highly useful project, of the type that will be ended by the economy drive, was the research on laundering, which showed that disease bacteria survived through home laundering of clothing, and that additional sanitary products such as pine oil were needed in the wash water.

Those Who Need It Most

Ironically, the discontinuance of the major source of practical consumer information to moderate-income families comes in spite of the administration's previous promise to aid consumers. It also occurs just as the government is embarking on a program of aid, including the Economic Opportunities Act. These are the very families who need the kind of information provided by the about-to-be-ended research services.

No other government or private agency produces this kind of impartial information especially keen to moderate-income needs at the low or no cost of these pamphlets.

The planned reduction in Agriculture Department consumer projects is the latest of a series of government withdrawals from tangible consumer guidance services, beginning in 1948 when the Agriculture Department's Office of Consumer Council, and Consumer's Guide magazine were discontinued. The National Bureau of Standards also halted, during the Eisenhower administration, its own consumer research which had produced valuable information on auto batteries, antifreeze, other car equipment, rug padding, luggage and other goods.

This writer has obtained from the Agriculture Department a list of pamphlets of the type which eventually will be discontinued but on which the department still has some stock. You can get these at no cost by sending a postcard to the Office of Information, U.S. Agriculture Department, Washington, D.C. 20256. A postcard is more convenient all around. Here are the titles and numbers:

A Step-Saving U Kitchen (G-14); Easy to Build Kitchen Cabinets (T-18); The Beltville Kitchen Workroom With Energy-Saving Features (G-60); Removing Stains From Fabrics (G-62); A Consumer's Guide to USDA Services (Misc. Pub. 959); Simplified Plumbing Repairs (FB-2202); Family Food Budgeting for Good Meals and Good Nutrition (HG-94).

VIETNAM

Senator Dodd:

(Continued From Page 6)

incredible promise to Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand as well as to South Vietnam, and it would offer equal promise to the people of North Vietnam, which only the continued belligerence and noncooperation of their government could frustrate. This, to me, sounds eminently sensible.

THE RETALIATORY STRIKES ORDERED BY

President Johnson against the North have had the effect of reiterating our commitment in a manner that the Communists understand; and this, in the long run, is probably more important than the damage wrought by these strikes.

The ultimate outcome of the cold war depends upon an affirmative decision to do whatever is necessary to achieve victory in South Vietnam. The events of recent weeks demonstrate again that the administration is not lacking in resolve and that it is rapidly approaching such a decision.

Whether that means a large commitment of forces, or continued retaliatory strikes against the North, or carrying guerrilla warfare to the enemy homeland, or completely sealing off South Vietnam from Communist aid—I say to the administration, "Give us the plan that will do the job, and we will support you."

And so I urge not merely that we stand fast in Vietnam, but also that we meet head on the new isolationism in its incipient stages, before the long months and years of discontent, frustration, and weariness that lie ahead have swelled the chorus urging disengagement and withdrawal to a deafening roar.

Let us embrace a doctrine that refuses to yield to force, ever; that honors its commitments because we know that our good faith is the cement binding the free world together; a doctrine that recognizes in its foreign aid program not only that the rich are morally obligated to help the poor, but also that prosperity cannot permanently ensue untroubled by poverty, and justice cannot conquer until its conquest is universal.

Senator Church:

(Continued From Page 7)

ness, but the symbol of strength, nor should it destroy what remains of the fighting morale of the South Vietnamese.

Negotiations preceded the end of the fighting in Korea by nearly 2 years. In South Vietnam, the active bargaining for a peaceful solution could even lift morale by offering some hope to the people that there might come an end to their ordeal. Moreover, an attempt to reach a peaceful settlement would not be incompatible with the keeping of our pledge to give military aid and advice to the Saigon Government.

In any reappraisal of American foreign policy in the undeveloped world, so recently freed from colonial bondage, we would do well to recall the wise words of President Kennedy, spoken in November of 1961:

"We must face the fact that the U.S. is neither omnipotent nor omniscient, that we cannot always impose our will on the other 94 percent of mankind, that we cannot, right every wrong or reverse every adversity, and that therefore, there cannot be an American solution to every world problem."

N.Y. Labor Pledges Aid To Cabbies

The heads of international unions with headquarters in New York have pledged to raise a \$1 million fund to organize 45,000 of the city's cab drivers and other unorganized workers.

At a conference called by Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Central Labor Council, further steps to support the cabbies were planned. Present among others, were ILGWU Pres. David Dubinsky; Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Alex Ross, head of the Hatters, Cap and Millinery Union and Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union.

In an address on March 11 before the members of Electrical Workers' Local 3, Pres. Dubinsky declared it was time the taxicab drivers were organized and that they deserved the same union safeguards and protections as other organized workers.

He drew lessons from the struggles of the garment workers to organize half a century ago. The cab drivers, isolated until now, ought to know as they make efforts to avoid a strike that they have the sympathy and support of the garment workers whatever the outcome of those efforts.

Chicago Hits Unfair 2-Month Dress Spurt Adds 19 Jobbers, Manufacturers

The ILGWU has filed a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board charging the Dan Howard Co., of Chicago, Illinois, with committing a number of unfair labor practices aimed at intimidating workers into voting against the union in a recent representation election, reports Vice Pres. Morris Blais.

In its petition to the board, the ILGWU accused the firm of discrimination and flagrant engaging in certain illegal actions during the weeks prior to the January 21 voting.

These acts of harassment and coercion included unlawful interrogation of workers during the union's organizing campaign, illegal promises of greater benefits to workers if the union lost the election; giving special inducements to workers to change their votes; and having company representatives make anti-union speeches to "confuse and confuse" of workers less than 24 hours before the election.

The organizing drive at the firm, which manufactures lingerie, maternity wear and sportswear, began in November 1964 under the supervision of staffer Mordecai Wiener. He was assisted by cutter Norward Baisie and operator Rose Giron, members of Chicago Local 261, who spoke with workers at their homes and at meetings.

Wabash Vote Win

On the other side of the organizing coin, the union scored an impressive victory in a NLRB representation election at Wabash Ribbons Co. of Chicago. The union is presently drafting demands for upcoming contract negotiations with the firm.

The successful 1-month unionizing campaign was spearheaded by Wiener with the assistance of

Nineteen jobbers and manufacturers, 9 subsidiaries and departments and 3 sample rooms were organized by the New York Dress Joint board during the first 2 months of 1965, reports Vice Pres. Charles S. Zimmerman, joint board general manager.

He indicated that an intensive organizing drive now is getting under way, taking advantage of the current season. In this connection, he pointed out that the union has to contend "with the usual problem of new firms coming into business and old firms quitting and opening up again under new names and partners, trying to hide from the union."

"This makes organizing a constant job for us," he said.

All-Out Effort
Sol Greenberg, manager of the

joint board's organization department, said last week that a thorough investigation of the New York City market had been made, and that "all the necessary preliminaries have been completed for an all-out effort against non-union firms."

Zimmerman said that some of the new shops and the newly re-organized firms are under the illusion that they can hide from the union. "They can't," he emphasized. "We know who and where they are, and we intend to go after them."

Local 91, which were adopted by the local's executive board at its March 8 meeting.

The other approved proposal was that the local conduct an art exhibition on April 26 as a means of raising money to aid children day centers in the city.

The educational assistance program, open only to children of Local 91 members planning to enter college, will consist of 10 annual \$500 scholarship awards.

The winning applicants will be chosen by a special panel of leading educators whose decision will be based primarily on the student's scholastic record.

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CONTEST RULES: 1. On an official entry blank or on a plain piece of paper, hand print or type your name and address, number of your local, your local number and the name of your shop, and mail to: LUCKY LABEL Sweepstakes, Box 432, Murray Hill Station, New York, New York 10016. 2. Each entry must be mailed separately and accompanied by an ILGWU Union Label, or a 3"x5" piece of paper on which you have written in plain block letters the word "UNION LABEL." 3. Entries must be postmarked by May 15, 1965, and received by May 22, 1965. Only one prize will be awarded to a family. 4. Winners will be selected in random drawings conducted by an independent judging organization whose decision will be final. All winners will be notified promptly,

by mail, upon completion of the drawing. 5. Sweepstakes is open to all residents of the continental United States, who are present or retired ILGWU members, except said employees of ILGWU, its advertising agencies or members of their families. 6. Tax liability on all prizes will be the sole responsibility of the prize winner. The sponsor of the contest cannot exchange prizes or substitute cash equivalent for any prize. This Sweepstakes offer is void in any state or municipality where prohibited, taxed or restricted by law. Sweepstakes is subject to all Federal, State and local regulations. For a list of winners, send separately a self-addressed envelope to Union Local Dept., 275 Seventh Ave., New York, New York.

FREE to ILGWU MEMBERS!

LUCKY LABEL SWEEPSTAKES

OVER 850 PRIZES

1965 STUDEBAKER COMMANDER CAR AND OVER 850 ADDITIONAL PRIZES



5 TAPPAN "400" Electric Ranges

20 REVERE Electric Eye MOVIE CAMERAS

20 OSTER Classic VIII BLENDERS

70 DECCA RECORD LIBRARIES

75 CARVEL HALL CARVING SETS

170 HANDILITE Flashing LANTERNS

500 ESTERBROOK Photon PENS

Your ILGWU membership and an ILGWU label are all you need to win!

...THIS IS YOUR LABEL

Be sure it's in every garment you make!

Be sure it's in every garment you buy!

PASTE STAPLE ON TAPE LABEL HERE

Easy To Win • Nothing To Write • No Jingles

ENTER NOW...USE THIS HANDY ENTRY BLANK

Fill in and MAIL TO: LUCKY LABEL SWEEPSTAKES
P. O. Box 432, Murray Hill Station, New York, New York 10016

Name

Address

City State Zip

Local Union Employer Number

Name of Shop

Label Enclosed from

TYPE OF GARMENT

STORE WHERE BOUGHT

Be sure to enclose ILGWU Union Label or suitable substitute (see rules)

Poll Victory Caps Strike At Kanner in So. Jersey

By an overwhelming majority, the workers at Kanner Brothers Manufacturing Co. in Vineland, New Jersey voted for the ILGWU in a representation election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board on March 4.

According to Manager Harry Bens of the South Jersey-Philadelphia Joint Board, the election victory was the culmination of an organizing campaign that was marked by a 2-week strike when

the employer refused to recognize the union, despite the overriding evidence of signed cards.

Previously, staffer Paul Crescenza had succeeded in signing up virtually all the workers, through individual contact and meetings. When the employer remained adamant, all the workers except 4 walked out on February 8. The union filed for an NLRB election.

Now, the union is seeking the setting of a date for start of negotiations for a contract.

Peter Pan Pact Nets 6% Boost

A general 6 percent wage increase heads the list of gains in a renewal pact covering some 40 shipping and warehouse workers of the Peter Pan Manufacturing Co. of Newark, N.J., reports Vice Pres. Edward Kramer, general manager of the Eastern Region.

The renewal is for a 1-year period. At the expiration date the shipping clerk's unit, currently covered by a separate agreement, will become part of a complete production and maintenance unit, whose pact expires at the same time.

The contract also provides for craft minimums of \$1.65 an hour, 7½ guaranteed paid holidays, 2 weeks vacation paid directly by the employer, and employee contributions to the health and welfare, retirement and severance pay funds.

The agreement also calls for the 35-hour week with overtime after 7 1/2 daily hours.

At the expiration of the contract, renewal talks will cover the overall unit of close to 200 workers, according to Local 166 Manager Peter Delfelsen.

Between 1970 and 1980, the largest gain in the number of young workers will be among men 25 and over, expected to amount to 7 million; 5½ million of this growth will be in the age group 25 to 34.

MARCH: TIME TO INSPECT



March — the anniversary month of the Triangle and Monarch fires that took the lives of 170 garment workers — is the traditional month for intensive and cooperative inspections of the shop by worker and employer. The ILGWU fire warden and inspection program has significantly reduced the number of shop fires. The program is provided for by ILGWU contract. Use the inspection forms. Cooperate with your employer. Inspect now. For further information write: ILGWU Education Dept., 1710 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10019.



COT JOINT INSTALLATION: Murray Edelman, general manager of COT Department, swears in new officers and executive board members of Paterson Local 134 and Passaic Local 158.

'190' Shop Chiefs In Leader Studies

Twenty-four executive board members and shop leaders from Philadelphia Knitgoods Workers' Local 190 are enrolled in 2 educational programs organized by the city's AFL-CIO Council for union activists.

Of these, 17 are participating in the Union Leadership Academy program on trade union history, which is co-sponsored by the Division of School Extension, School District of Philadelphia. This 4-year program is designed to train officers and members for more effective leadership at various levels.

Seven other Local 190 members are attending the Union Counselor Training Program. Here, too, trade union activists drawn from many Philadelphia area unions are learning how to advise members about the many services available to them and their families from the social and civic agencies of the community.

HITS AND MRS.

by JANE GOOSELE

Exhalation of Discovery: Lock-Picking's Her Hobby!

At last I've found a hobby! I've needed one for a long time because people are always asking me what my hobby is. Perfect strangers (people who sit next to me on buses, and lab technicians who make conversations by asking, "What's your hobby?")

Not having a hobby made me feel like a social failure. Oh, don't think I didn't try to find one! I attempted tennis. (Too firing.) Fishing. (A bore.) Skiing. (Too scary.) And needle-point. (What do you do with it when it's finished?) I tried collecting things. But I really didn't want a lot of useless stamps or foreign coins or antique pillboxes. I couldn't keep my mind on bridge. Birdwatching involved such early rising. And gardening isn't my idea of a hobby. It's bedmaking a hobby?

Silly, one does need a hobby, and at last I've found mine. It fascinates me, and I honestly think I have a talent for it. Like most discoveries, it happened by accident.

My daughter Ann arrived home from college and departed a week later for a job in New York. A large suitcase, which she had sent from school, arrived ten days after she left. The suitcase was locked. Ann had taken the key with her. What to do?

I couldn't wait to write to Ann to send the key because her hair dryer was in the suitcase, and I needed it because she'd taken mine. Sighing heavily, I resigned myself to lugging the suitcase to a locksmith, and immediately re-assigned myself. I couldn't pick it up. No wonder it had cost \$17.75 in express charges! Now what?

No Keys Fit

Half-heartedly, I tried to unlock it with several unidentified keys which we keep for such emergencies. That must be why we keep them. Dying heavily, I resigned myself to lugging the suitcase to a locksmith, an ice pick, a screwdriver and a bobby pin. Hopeless.

Finally, I tried tweezers. They didn't work either, but it didn't seem hopeless. Not quite. It seemed as though it just might . . . just maybe . . . on the next try . . . or the next . . . if I kept working at it . . . and tried just one more . . . And suddenly it did! The lock gave a little click and sprung open!

Well, talk about exhilaration! In that instant, I knew the triumph a fisherman feels when he catches his first steedhead. I knew how a golfer feels making his first birdie, how a painter feels when he captures the essence of light on canvas. So must Sir Edmund Hillary have felt when he stood on the summit of Everest.

At last I had discovered where my talents lay, and I experienced a sense of fulfillment, the satisfying pride of achievement. Lock-picking may not be everybody's idea of a hobby, but I'm crazy about it.

Report, Medicare Movie At '117' Meeting April 1

The first general membership meeting of Cloak Operators' Local 117 under the newly elected administration will take place Thursday, April 1, in the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel, 34th Street and Broadway.

In addition to Manager Nat

Windman's report on industry and union developments, the agenda will include the annual financial report and the showing of a film about Medicare. Because of the movie, the meeting will start promptly at 5 P.M. — half an hour earlier than usual.

After 25 Years, Luisa Riviera Cools the Iron

SOME PEOPLE STILL REGARD FEMALE members of N.Y. Pressers' Local 35 as a novelty. They think of the women in the local as something new.

Luisa Riviera would find that attitude strange. She has been a presser for 25 years and a member of Local 35 for 20 of them. Now, at the age of 72 and with her eyesight failing, she has decided to retire.

She is a small, rather frail-looking woman but it quickly becomes obvious that she has a very sturdy spirit, and there's a twinkle in her eyes. Although she has never really been active in the local, she has been a good union member.

LUISA TALKED ABOUT HER EXPERIENCES as a presser and as a member of the local during a recent visit to the 35th office. She came to New York from Puerto Rico in 1928 because conditions on the island were then "very bad, very poor," she says. "There was very little money." She found conditions here much better. Local 35's jurisdiction covers New York coat, suit, skirt and sportswear shops. Luisa found a job in a specialty shop—most of the local's approximately 75 female members work in such shops—and her employer, whom she described as "a very good man," taught her how to press by hand and with a machine. She remained in the same shop (Success Sportswear) until last month when she decided that,

because of her eyesight, it would be sensible to quit.

HAD THE UNION BEEN HELPFUL TO HER during her years as a presser? "Mucho," she says. "Very much." Conditions now are much better than when she started. And when she was ill in 1962 and 1963, she tells you, the union was very helpful with sick benefits.

Had she found the atmosphere of the shop pleasant? "Mucho," she says. She liked it better than her house. "Everybody in the shop gets on very well," she says. She'd like nothing better to continue working, but her eyes make this impossible.

As it is, the monthly pension checks she will receive from the ILGWU retirement fund and her social security benefits will enable her to live with some real measure of security and dignity. She is thankful for this. The union now means more to her than ever to retire.

Local 35's members are now receiving almost \$600,000 a year in retirement pensions. "An impressive figure," says Manager Morris Kovler, "but you have to talk with the retirees themselves to know how much it really means."

Luisa glad that she came to New York from Puerto Rico? "Oh, yes," she tells you. "I like New York much better than Puerto Rico. I don't know why but I do."

Perhaps the ILGWU has helped to make the difference.

CUTTERS COLUMN

Dubinsky Keynote Highlights Cutters' Installation Meeting

The administration of Cutter's Local 10, headed by Vice Pres. Moshe Falkman, which won a sweeping victory in the election last month, was officially installed in office for the next 3 years by Pres. Dubinsky on March 8 at ceremonies attended by a thousand cutters at Manhattan Center. Behind a platform covered with bouquets of flowers were representatives of practically every branch of the union in the city.

Recalling that he had become manager of Local 10 in 1922 and had left the post to become general secretary-treasurer of the ILGWU in 1929, Dubinsky noted there had been many changes since then. He noted the Local had 7,128 cutters as of the last census in July 1946 as compared with 2,269 in 1929. During the same period those working in cloak shops had declined from 1,436 to 1,151 but those working on dresses increased from 672 to 2,972 and the number in the miscellaneous trades rose from 280 to 3,005.

Changed Composition

Not only had there been a change in the total number of members and in their distribution in the various trades, but also in the composition of the membership, the ILGWU chief commented. Many oldtimers were no longer with us, he said, but newcomers had brought fresh strength to the organization. They had demonstrated their loyalty and adherence to the traditions of the organization, he said, when at the recent election they rolled up a massive vote for the administration that had done so much to advance their welfare.

Dubinsky bluntly characterized the opposition as Communist-led, though he conceded it included some innocents who had been beguiled by slogans. No matters how much the administration had accomplished for the members in terms of wage increases, high minimums, a second week's vacation, etc., he said, the opposition never had a good word for it but they always were able, somehow, to support Soviet foreign policies, right or wrong.

He recalled the havoc wrought by Communists when, in the 20's, they gained control of a segment of the union, but he was proud that the cutters had played a dominant role in the effort that finally ended the threat of communist domination and saved the union.

The record of the past 30 years shows the cutters have made enormous progress, Dubinsky declared. He warned those who, for political reasons or because of ignorance of conditions in the industry, would push demands to such an extent as to divert work elsewhere at the expense of the workers. You can't move giant factories or the work on building construction, but sewing machines and garment plants can be trucked anywhere, he told the cutters, and this must always be taken into account by responsible officers of the union to avoid having a wonderful agreement on paper but no work.

After swearing in the new officers, business agents and executive officers, Pres. Dubinsky

There will be no membership meeting of Local 10 in March. The next regular meeting will take place on Monday, April 26.

congratulated the administration and wished it success.

Vote of Confidence

Manager Falkman expressed appreciation for the vote of confidence given to him and the administration. He recalled his work as a "controller" in Local 10, to which post he was appointed in 1928 by the then Manager Dubinsky, and his work during the 30's in organizing the cutters in the miscellaneous trades into a substantial segment of the local, followed by his election as assistant manager and his service as manager during the past 15 years. He said he had found his work rewarding for he had realized his ambition to help Local 10 become a strong, respected organization, a credit to the ILGWU and the labor movement.

General Secretary-Treasurer Stulberg, a former assistant manager of Local 10, who was present but unable to address the membership because of a sore throat, received a hearty round of applause.

Among the other speakers were First Vice Pres. Luigi Antonini, general secretary of Local 89, Sam Berger, the outgoing president of the local and his successor, Nat Klein.

WTUL Is Granting Girls' Scholarship

The Women's Trade Union League is now accepting applications for a number of scholarships for which daughters of ILGWU members may be eligible. The scholarships vary in amount to a maximum of \$500 per year, depending on the applicant's needs, plans and previous record.

Applicants must be women living in New York City or its environs whose chosen field of study is in the social sciences, teaching social sciences or teaching young children. Applicants should also have trade union background and interests. High school seniors or graduates who have not entered college may apply.

An applicant must write a letter to the chairman of the scholarship committee outlining briefly her educational and trade union background, or her interest in labor movement, plus plans for future study. The scholarship committee will then send those eligible a formal application and a personal interview will be arranged with each of the finalists to determine eligibility.

Applications must be filed before April 15. Address communications to Mrs. Broadus Mitchell, chairman, Scholarship Committee, Mills College of Education, 46 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10011.



LOCAL 10 INSTALLATION: Pres. Dubinsky addresses cutters.

N.Y. Dress Retirement

Eligible dressmakers employed in New York City dress shops wishing to retire on October 1, 1965 must apply at the Retirement Office, 217-232 West 40th St., New York City, in Room 312 between 9 A.M. and 4:30 P.M.

Dressmakers employed in shops located outside of New York City, who work on garments for New York dress jobbers, should apply at the local union office in their area.

Registration in New York City will be accepted in the alphabetical order listed. Those whose last names begin with the letters A and B (April 1 to April 9); C thru E (April 12 to April 15); F thru K (April 19 to April 23); L thru O (April 26 to April 30); P thru S (May 3 to May 7); and T thru Z (May 10 to May 14). If you cannot come in during the period set aside for you, you may register from May 17 to May 31, 1965.

Information on retirement rules and regulations may be obtained at the above address or your local union office.

Cloak Installing To Hear Wirtz

U.S. Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz will be the featured speaker at a luncheon on March 20 following the installation of officers of the New York Cloak Joint Board and its affiliated locals, announces Vice Pres. Henoch-Mendelsund, joint board general manager.

Preceding the luncheon, which will be held at 12:45 in the main hall of the Hotel Commodore, Pres. David Dubinsky will conduct the swearing-in ceremonies, starting at 10:30 A.M. in the hotel's east ballroom.

Lively Contests Spark Voting In N'East Locals

Throughout the Northeast Department, locals are now completing their elections for officers, chairladies, secretaries, and convention delegates. In some elections, more than 90 percent of the members cast their ballots. In many locals, there have been lively contests for union posts with voting often being close.

Mourn Morrison, British Laborite; 'One of Our Own'

Herbert Morrison, world renowned British laborite and long-time friend of the ILGWU, died March 6 at the age of 77.

Pres. David Dubinsky, who described Morrison as "one of our own," sent the following message of sympathy to Mrs. Morrison:

"Please accept our condolences on the loss of your husband. In our time he was one of the great leaders in labor's upward struggle in the defense and extension



of democracy, in the structuring of a society to enrich man's life on earth.

"Although the posts he held were bestowed in his homeland, he was honored in many nations. We counted him as one of our own. We mourn our loss and wish on this occasion to pay our sincerest respect to a man of high principle, unflinching integrity and recognized competence whose work will continue as a living monument to his courage and ideals."

Morrison was one of the labor leaders who brought the British Labor Party into power after the second World War. He was Deputy Prime Minister in the postwar Labor government and served briefly as Foreign Minister in 1951.

Morrison symbolized the epitome of British courage and tenacity in 1940-1945, when he was Home Secretary in the War Cabinet and head of London's civil defense. As German bombs thundered down, he toured the city and talked to Londoners, inspiring confidence and hope of eventual victory in the people.

For decades, Morrison closely followed and ardently supported the ILGWU in its progressive

BOOK FRONT

by MIRIAM SPIEGELHÄNDLER

'Wobbly' Writings Anthology Recaps Violent Labor Era

REBEL VOICES, Edited by Joyce L. Kornbluh. University of Michigan Press, \$12.50

The industrial sabotage and violence practiced by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) has receded so far into the past that it is possible now for a respectable university press to publish an anthology of "Wobbly" writings that is jumbo in size and price; that is advertised in The New York Times co-operatively with an old, staid, Fifth Avenue bookstore and that is promoted as something to put under the Christmas tree.

In the first decades of this century, the IWW was a labor organization that filled houses' hearts with terror as it preached one big union for all, refused to make collective agreements and urged the overthrow rather than the reform of the capitalist system. It launched massive strikes which dramatized the plight of western miners, northern lumberjacks, eastern textile workers and itinerant workers everywhere.

It proclaimed its program in heavy-handed manifestos. But it sang its faith in the ultimate brotherhood of workers in a world rid of exploiters in stirring poems and songs. When its pickets were arrested, members rode the rails to wherever the strike was on and sought to frustrate jailing by filing the jails. It had more than 100,000 martyrs—beaten, maimed, lynched—and it mourned them with a burning resolve to blast its way to brotherhood even sooner.

It had only disdain for the American Federation of Labor and its leaders. For while the IWW was colorfully hailing the end of the oppressors with fireworks, the AFL was drably building strong, permanent craft unions, negotiating binding contracts, demonstrating industrial responsibility, striking for higher wages and generally civilizing private enterprise.

In the time when industrial robber barons practiced unrestrained violence, the IWW answered in kind. But it built no permanent union with which the old system could be neither reformed nor overthrown. From the perspective of the present it has the same nostalgic, colorful attractiveness as all accounts of swashbuckling frontiers life acquire with time.

Drawing on a rich collection of materials in the University of Michigan Library, Joyce Kornbluh has produced an admirable anthology filled with statements of passionate hate and humanitarianism. Its excitement cannot be matched today when organized labor's great battles are fought at the bargaining table, in the legislative halls and by shop committees. These are the new frontiers and we cannot go back to the old.

achievements. He sent messages of encouragement and friendship to ILGWU conventions. When in this country, he made it a point to visit and confer with officers at the General Office. He attended dedication ceremonies of the ILGWU Houses in 1962.

JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

EDITORIAL PAGE



"The time of justice has now come..."

Highlights from the historic address by President Lyndon B. Johnson on March 15, 1965 before a joint session of the Congress of the United States.

I SPEAK TONIGHT FOR THE dignity of man and the destiny of democracy.

I urge every member of both parties, Americans of all religions and of all colors, from every section of this country, to join me in that cause.

At times, history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom.

So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama.

There, long suffering men and women peacefully protested the denial of their rights as Americans. Many were brutally assaulted. One good man—a man of God—was killed.

There is no cause for pride in what has happened in Selma. There is no cause for self-satisfaction in the long denial of equal rights of millions of Americans. But there is cause for hope and for faith in our democracy in what is happening here tonight.

For the cries of pain and the hymns and protests of oppressed people have summoned into convocation all the majesty of this great Government—the Government of the greatest nation on earth.

Our mission is at once the oldest and the most basic of this country—to right wrong, to do justice, to serve man.

IN OUR TIME WE HAVE COME to live with the moments of great crisis. Our lives have been marked with debate about great issues, issues of war and peace, issues of prosperity and depression, rarely in any time does an issue by bare the secret heart of America itself. Rarely are we met with a challenge, not to our growth or abundance, or our welfare or our security, but rather to the values and the purposes and the meaning of our beloved nation.

The issue of equal rights for American Negroes is such an issue.

And should we defeat every enemy, and should we double our wealth and conquer the stars, and still be unequal to this issue, then we will have failed as a people, as a nation.

For, with a country as with a person, "What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem.

And we are met here tonight as Americans—not as Democrats or Republicans; we're met here as Americans to solve that problem.

THIS WAS THE FIRST NATION in the history of the world to be founded with a purpose. The great phrases of that purpose still sound in every American heart, North and South:

"All men are created equal." "Government by consent of the governed." "Give me liberty or give me death."

And those are not just clever words, and those are not just empty theories. In their name Americans have fought and died for two centuries and tonight

around the world they stand there as guardians of our liberty risking their lives.

Those words are promises to every citizen that he shall share in the dignity of man. This dignity cannot be found in a man's possessions. It cannot be found in his power or in his position. It really rests on his right to be treated as a man equal in opportunity to all others.

It says that he shall share in freedom. He shall choose his leaders, educate his children, provide for his family according to his ability and his merits as a human being.

To apply any other test, to deny a man his hopes because of his color or race or his religion or the place of his birth is not only to do injustice, it is to deny America and to dishonor the dead who gave their lives for American freedom.

WEDNESDAY, I WILL SEND TO CONGRESS a law designed to eliminate illegal barriers to the right to vote.

This bill will strike down restrictions to voting in all elections, Federal, state and local, which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote.

This bill will establish a simple, uniform standard which cannot be used, however ingenious the effort, to flout our Constitution. It will provide for citizens to be registered by officials of the United States Government, if the state officials refuse to register them.

But experience has plainly shown that this is the only way to carry out the command of the Constitution. To those who seek to avoid action by their national Government in their home communities, who want to and who seek to maintain purely local control over elections, the answer is simple: Open your polling places to all your people.

Allow men and women to register and vote whatever the color of their skin.

Extend the rights of citizenship to every citizen of this land.

There is no constitutional issue here. The command of the Constitution is plain. There is no moral issue. It is wrong—deadly wrong—to deny any of your fellow Americans the right to vote in this country.

There is no issue of states' rights or national rights. There is only the struggle for human rights.

SO I ASK YOU TO JOIN ME IN working long hours and nights and weekends, if necessary, to pass this bill.

And I don't make that request lightly, for from the window where I sit with the problems of our country I recognize that from outside this chamber is the outraged conscience of a nation, the grave concern of many nations and the harsh judgment of history on our acts.

But even if we pass this bill the battle will not be over.

What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and state of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life.

Because it's not just Negroes, but really it's all of us who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome.

A CENTURY HAS PASSED—MORE than 100 years—since equality was promised, and yet the Negro is not equal.

A century has passed since the day of promise, and the promise is unkept. The time of justice has now come, and I tell

you that I believe sincerely that no force can hold it back. It is right in the eyes of man and God that it should come, and when it does, I think that day will brighten the lives of every American.

For Negroes are not the only victims. How many white children have lived in stark poverty? How many white lives have been scarred by fear, because we wasted energy and our substance to maintain the barriers of hatred and terror?

And so I say to all of you here and to all in the nation tonight that those who appeal to you to hold on to the past do so at the cost of denying you your future. This great rich, restless country can offer opportunity and education and hope to all—all, black and white, all, North and South, sharecropper and city dweller.

These are the enemies: poverty, ignorance, disease. They are our enemies, not our fellow man, not our neighbor. And

a right to march under conditions that do not infringe the constitutional rights of our neighbors. And I intend to protect all those rights as long as I am permitted to serve in this office.

We will guard against violence, knowing it strikes from our hands the very weapons which we seek—progress, obedience to law, and belief in American values.

THE BILL I AM PRESENTING to you will be known as a civil rights bill. But in a larger sense, most of the programs I am recommending is a civil rights program. Its object is to open the city of hope to all people of all races, because all Americans just must have the right to vote, and we are going to give them that right.

All Americans must have the privileges of citizenship, regardless of race, and they are going to have those privileges of citizenship regardless of race.

TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON FROM DAVID DUBINSKY

I was one of the many millions of American citizens who listened to one of the greatest teachers of our time, President Lyndon B. Johnson, spelling out the meaning of America as he learned it from the pleading eyes of children in a Texas schoolroom many years ago. May I join with the members of Congress who rose to their feet to applaud and to acknowledge a moment of historic greatness.

You gave new depth to the politics of equality when you joined it with the economics of opportunity. You gave new meaning to the Presidency when you defied it not as a conquest over other people but as a conquest over our own feelings. You gave courageous and determined leadership at a crucial time to meet a crucial problem. With such inspired guidance, we shall surely overcome.

these enemies too—poverty, disease and ignorance—we shall overcome.

Now let none of us in any section look with prideful righteousness on the troubles in another section or the problems of our neighbors.

THE REAL HERO OF THIS STRUGGLE is the American Negro. His actions and protests, his courage to risk safety, and even to risk his life, have awakened the conscience of this nation. His demonstrations have been designed to call attention to injustice, designed to provoke change, designed to stir reform.

He has called upon us to make good the promise of America. And who among us can say that we would have made the same progress were it not for his persistent bravery and his faith in American democracy?

For at the real heart of battle for equality is a deep-seated belief in the democratic process. Equality depends not on the force of arms or tear gas, but depends upon the force of moral right—not on recourse to violence, but on respect for law and order. There have been many pressures upon your President and there will be others as the days come and go. But I pledge you tonight that we intend to fight this battle where it should be fought—in the courts, and in the Congress, and in the hearts of men.

We must preserve the right of free speech and the right of free assembly.

But the right of free speech does not carry with it—as has been said—the right to holler fire in a crowded theatre.

We must preserve the right to free assembly. But free assembly does not carry with it the right to block public thoroughfares to traffic.

We do have a right to protest. And I

But I would like to caution you and remind you that to exercise these privileges takes much more than just legal right. It requires a trained mind and a healthy body. It requires a decent home and the chance to find a job and the opportunity to escape from the clutches of poverty.

So we want to open the gates to opportunity. But we're also going to give all our people, black and white, the help that they need to walk through those gates.

MY FIRST JOB AFTER COLLEGE was as a teacher in Couda, Texas, in a small Mexican-American school. Few of them could speak English, and I couldn't speak much Spanish.

My students were poor and they often came to class without breakfast and hungry. And they knew even in their youth the pain of prejudice. They never seemed to know why people disliked them, but they knew it was so because I saw it in their eyes.

I often walked home late in the afternoon after the classes were finished wishing there was more that I could do. But all I knew was to teach them the little that I knew, hoping that it might help them against the hardships that lay ahead.

And somehow you never forget what poverty and hatred can do when you see its scars on the hopeful face of a young child.

I never thought then, in 1928, that I would be standing here in 1965. I never even occurred to me in my fondest dreams that I might have the chance to help the sons and daughters of those students, and to help people like them all over the country.

But now I do have that chance. And I'll let you in on a secret—I mean to use it.